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In Fraser's Magazine for May 1841 he notices
of Milton's London residences by the Rev. Carrs Rem
June 1850 of Inverness (Courier Office)

MILTON.

A SHEAF OF GLEANINGS

AFTER HIS

BIOGRAPHERS AND ANNOTATORS:

I. GENEALOGICAL INVESTIGATION.
II. NOTES ON SOME OF HIS POEMS.

BY JOSEPH HUNTER.

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CONTENTS.

I. GENEALOGICAL INVESTIGATION.

		PAGE
1.	His paternal Ancestry	1
2.	The Poet's Father	10
3.	Milton's Mother	18
4.	Milton intended for the Law	21
5.	The Poet's Travels	23
6.	His Settlement in London	24
7.	Milton's first Marriage—The Powels	27
8.	Milton's second Marriage	35
9.	His third Marriage—The Minshuls	36
10.	Sir Christopher Milton	42
11.	Milton's last London Residence	43

II. NOTES ON SOME OF THE POETICAL WORKS.

1.	Comus	44
2.	Lycidas	46
3.	Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester	52
4.	Ode on the Nativity	53
5.	L'Allegro	53
6.	Il Penseroso	54
7.	Paradise Lost	54

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MILTON.

I. GENEALOGICAL INVESTIGATION.

I. His Paternal Ancestry.—In a well-known passage of the *Defensio Secunda*, Milton claims for himself that he was of generous descent: "Londini sum natus, genere honesto." Yet no proof of this has been given either by his earlier or later biographers, and we should apply in vain to the ordinary sources of information of this kind, for any thing that could support such a claim, if the phrase is to be taken in any of the higher senses which belong to it.

For any thing beyond the father the little that has been transmitted to us is comprised in the following statement in Mr. Archdeacon Todd's Life of the Poet:—"The grandfather was Under-ranger or Keeper of the forest of Shotover near Halton in Oxfordshire. He was a bigotted Papist, and disinherited his son, the poet's father, because, when a member of Christ Church, Oxford, he became a Protestant."

I have discovered evidence which enables me to give a little more of precision and authority to some part of this statement.

There exists among the Records of the Exchequer a series of Rolls known by the name of the Recusant Rolls, on which was entered year by year an account of the fines levied on those persons who had not acquiesced in the Reformation recently effected, for non-attendance at their parish churches, or of compositions made by them.

Each county is treated apart, and in the Roll for Oxfordshire of the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth, 1601, we find the name of "Richard Milton of Stanton St. John, yeoman." On the 13th of July 1601, this person was fined in the sum of £60 for not having resorted to his parish church for the three months following the 6th of December, 1600. This was ruinous work to a family of but slender fortunes: but he was not subdued by it, for a second fine of the same amount was imposed upon him soon after for not having attended church from the 13th of July, 1601, to the 4th of October following, nor having made his submission, nor promised to be conformable, pursuant to the statute of the 23rd of Elizabeth. Another inhabitant of the parish of Stanton St. John, named Thomas Stacey, was subjected to the same penalty.

Stanton St. John is one of the townships which form the Hundred of Bullington, one of the Hundreds of Oxfordshire. In this Hundred is Shotover, parcel of the forest of Bernwood, and Stowe-wood, the former being of the extent of 811 acres, and the latter of 485, according to a survey made in the 9th of Elizabeth. Shotover bounded on another wood called St. John's Wood, which belonged to Magdalene College, and a wood and lease of pasture belonging to Corpus Christi College, which wood and lease were known by the name of Pirial Plain, "and so continueth forth by the lordship of Horspath to the lordship of Whately in the east, and to the lordship of Forest-Hill and Stanton St. John north-east."* We have, therefore, found a Milton living on the borders of Shotover Forest, a man of a certain substance, and so zealously attached to the ancient form and order of

* Forest Documents in the Exchequer.

the English Church, that he ventured to incur the severe and extreme penalties that were imposed upon him: and since he lived at the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which is the chronological period of the grandfather of the poet, it can hardly be doubted that in this Richard Milton of Stanton St. John we have found the poet's grandfather, by whom his father is said to have been disinherited. We may add that though in the Hundred of Bullington there were many other Roman Catholics, yet there is no trace to be found of any other Milton being of that profession there or in any other part of Oxfordshire. The most considerable of the Roman Catholic families of the Hundred of Bullington were the Powels of Sandford, who remained stedfast Catholics to the time of their extinction early in the last century.

The quality of Richard Milton is that designated by the term "yeoman:" and though the yeoman of those days may have been relatively superior to the yeoman of the present day, it seems as if it scarcely bore out the claim which the poet makes to be "genere honesto," in any of its higher senses. If it could be proved that he held an office under the Crown, even were it only as an Under-Ranger or Keeper of one of the Royal Forests, this might be considered by his descendant as conferring upon him the rank and position of a gentleman, or after all the "yeoman" of the Recusant Roll being written, we may suppose by no friendly hand, may not quite have come up to the quality which actually belonged to a man who sent his son to Christ Church. Much, however, as I have seen of documentary evidence relating to Shotover at that period, such as Presentments

and Accounts, which are the kind of documents in which we might expect to find the name, I have seen no mention of any Milton having held any office in the Forest, but only having transactions with those who did hold such offices; and the only other evidence concerning this Richard Milton of Stanton that has fallen under my notice, is that he, or at least a person of that name, was assessed to the Subsidy of the 19th of Elizabeth, 1577, amongst the inhabitants of Stanton. He is not charged on lands, but on goods only, as if he had no lands, and the goods were assessed on an annual value of Three Pounds. These sums in the Subsidy Rolls afford however only a criterion of the relative, not the actual importance, of the person against whose names they stand. There is in these Rolls of the 19th of Elizabeth a very long list of the assessed inhabitants within the County of Oxford, and the only Milton is this Richard of Stanton St. John. We have here, as in so many instances, to regret that the early Parish Registers of Stanton St. John are lost. The carelessness with which evidence of this kind has been treated is for ever depriving us of the means of obtaining exact information concerning even our most eminent men, and transactions most important in their consequences.

Contemporary with him, though a little later, were two other Miltons, whose residence was in the vicinity of Shotover. At Beckley lived a Rowland Milton, who is described as a "husbandman." He is not found holding any office in the Forest, but rather as a troublesome neighbour to those who did so; for in the 33rd of Elizabeth, 1591, he was subjected to a small fine for having cut down a cart-load of wood, without license, in the Queen's Wood called Lodge

Coppice.* Five years before he had bought certain ash-trees of the Regarders of Stow-wood. This person was living in 1599.

Near to Stanton and Beckley, and close to Shotover Forest, is a place called Elfield, where, about the same time, lived one Robert Milton, to whom and his companions, the officers of the Forest, paid forty shillings for hedging Beckley Coppice, and for gates and iron-work. The document is without a date.

Such is the best, and indeed the only account that I am able to give of the Miltons, who, in the reign of Elizabeth, were living in the parts of Oxfordshire which border on the Shotover district, nor have I been able to trace them at all in that district before the time when Richard of Stanton must have lived. We must not, however, while looking to contemporary evidence, in questions of this kind the best of all, entirely overlook later testimonies, of which perhaps we may not be able to estimate the value truly. I add, therefore, that we find in a Manuscript in the Ashmolean Library, written after the time when the Poet could be spoken of as "the eminent writer," that he was a son of John Milton, of Halton, by Sarah Bradshaw his wife, and grandson of John Milton, of Halton, by a daughter of —— Jefferies. To what credit any part of this statement is entitled, I am unable to say. Halton it must be observed is a member of the Hundred of Bullington, and therefore near to Shotover; but we have no Milton in any known list of the inhabitants

* This was an offence which was often committed. In a Presentment of 1591 we find the Church-Wardens of Headington charged with having cut down "custom-boughs at Whitsuntide for the Church." The Church-Wardens of Forest-Hill had done the same.

there; and that his mother was a Bradshaw is at variance with the testimony of his nephew Philips.

The descendants of the family claimed to themselves that their ancestors had been "Milton of Milton," and that the family had been ruined in the wars of the two houses. This has an imposing sound, and true it is that there is a place called Milton, very near the borders of Shotover Forest, though separated from it by the river Tame, and it is a not unreasonable presumption, that the Miltons of whom we have spoken, may have derived their surname from that village. But that there was ever any race of persons who answer to the idea called up by the phrase, "Milton of Milton," cannot, I conceive, be shewn with any evidence. We have nothing of them in any Inquisition, nor I believe has any proof ever been given of the existence of such a race.

Yet that there were Miltons, persons of good repute in the counties of Oxford and Buckingham, though not described as of Milton, is proved by two pieces of evidence of the reign of King Henry the Sixth. In the 15th of that reign, a Roger Milton was the Collector of the Fifteenths and Tenths in the county of Oxford: and in an Inquisition taken at Stanwell, in Middlesex, before John May, the Escheator, on the 1st of July, in the 6th of that reign, after the death of Richard Wyndesore, Esquire, among persons holding lands of his manor of Stanwell, is John de Milton, who held the manor of Burnham in Buckinghamshire, by the service of half a knight's fee. This is the best proof existing of the original gentility of what may have been the Poet's family. And with this may be connected the well-ascertained fact, that when the father of the poet had esta-

blished himself in London, in his profession of a scrivener, he placed over his office door the device of an eagle displayed, an heraldic ensign, apparently challenging it as his hereditary right. This figure and the crest, hereafter mentioned, appear also on a seal still existing, which on very sufficient evidence, is said to have formerly belonged to the poet. On what authority the elder Milton depicted this figure on his sign is not known; but it is a remarkable fact that the eagle displayed is the armorial insignia of Mitton, a Shropshire family, whose name is radically different from Milton, though approaching so near to it in its orthography. See for Mitton's claim to parti per pale azure and gules, an eagle displayed with two heads or, the Visitation of London of 1633 and 1634. Yet still the Miltons seem to have had an authentic claim to this bearing, since in the volume of Sir William Segar's Grants, which has been lately obtained for the British Museum, is a notice of a grant, recognition or confirmation, for it does not appear which it was, that argent a double-headed eagle displayed gules, beaked and membered azure, is the coat of Mylton of the county of Oxford, with the crest, out of a wreath a lion's gamb couped and erect argent, grasping an eagle's head erased gules. There is no date in the manuscript, but Sir William Segar held the office of Garter from 1616 to 1632, nor is any thing said of the person at whose instance the recognition took place, but it can hardly be

doubted that it was at the instance of the father of the poet.*

These details, if they fail in establishing the truth respecting the origin of this great poet, and leave it still in a degree of obscurity, establish however the fact, how extremely difficult it is in this country to recover genealogical truth respecting families who were not of the class of those who appeared at the Heralds' Visitations, though they might be but just below many who did so appear and entered themselves on record, thus evincing the extreme importance, if it is thought an object of importance at all to hand down accurate information on such a subject as this to our posterity, of not trusting to the possible chance of discovering the truth by the search of parish registers, wills, and the other assistance in genealogical investigations, but seizing the opportunity which is always open to every one of entering the facts of this kind which can be proved in the books of the Heralds.

What has now been said seems to be all that comes legitimately within the scope of this inquiry, and yet I am induced to trespass further in bringing forward a few facts respecting other persons of the name of Milton living in the forest-country, who may seem to be in some kind of connection with the family which boasts this eminently illustrious name.

There was living in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in the reign of King James the First, near to

* This MS. of Segar's Grants is among the manuscripts called "Additional," No. 12,225, and the entry respecting the arms of Milton may be found at f. 162.

the Hundred of Bullington, but not within it, a Nicholas Milton, to whose name we find the addition of "Gentleman," and who may therefore be assumed to have been a Milton who claimed a right to coat-armour. This Nicholas resided at Appleton in Berkshire, a place about equally distant from Abington and Oxford. He was living there in the 31st, 32nd and 39th of Elizabeth, when his assessments were upon goods of the annual value of £10. He was living as late as the 10th of James I. at which time he was owner of lands at Appleton. A Nicholas Milton, who was certainly the same person, was assessed at Natley-Scures, in the Hundred of Basingstoke, in 1590 and 1599, and at Mettingham, in the Hundred of Blackheath, in 1598 and 1607. He was evidently a person of a better condition than the Miltons of the immediate neighbourhood of Shotover.

One Thomas Milton was a "Sworn Regarder and Preservator of all the Queen's Majesty's Woods within Battell's Bailiwick, parcel of the Park of Windsor." He and his two associates make answer to certain articles given them in charge by John Norris and Richard Stafferton, Esquires, verdurers of the said Forest of Windsor, dated March 10, 1571. Sonning-hall Park, Folie-John Park, and Cranburn Chace were within their division. In 1576 this Thomas Milton had a grant of a tenement called La Rolfe, with two gardens, in New Windsor. In 1624 there was a Robert Milton of Sonning Hall, who had lands in Windsor Forest.

Further, in 1523 there was a William Milton among the inhabitants of Oxford: in 1559 a person of the same name living at Newbury in Berkshire, and a Richard Milton at Warfield. In the reign of Philip and Mary there was a William Milton, a Collector of Customs in the Port of

London. There was a Somerset family of the name who were farmers of the tithe of Upton, and several Miltons in the Hundred of Brixon in Cheshire, to which county some persons have sought to trace the poet's ancestry.

II. The Poet's Father.—If Aubrey is here to be depended upon, who says that he was able to read without spectacles at eighty-four, and that he died about 1647, he could not be born later than 1563, so that he must have been between thirty and forty when Richard Milton of Stanton was so severely fined for his recusancy, and forty-five at the time when his son the poet was born. But Aubrey may have represented him as older than he really was.

We are told that he was sent by his father to Christ Church, but no trace of him as a member of that house is now to be found; and if any such trace existed it could hardly have escaped the research of two such men as Anthony Wood and Dr. Philip Bliss. He was settled as a Scrivener in Bread Street, near Cheapside, before the close of the reign of Elizabeth. This is proved by the copy of a bond for the payment of money to John Sanderson, an eminent Turkey merchant, in the manuscript book of his transactions now at the Museum.* The date of the bond is March 4, 1602: the money being to be paid on May 5 following, "at the new shop of John Milton, scrivener, in Bread Street, London." He was a witness to the signature of the persons who gave the bond, namely, Thomas Heigheham, of Bethnal Green, Esquire, and Richard Sparrow, citizen and goldsmith of London. He had thus early in his career respectable clients.

* Lansdowne MSS. No. 241.

This it is believed is the earliest date that has hitherto been discovered in the life of the poet's father. It was a "new shop," as if then only lately opened by him. Some time must have been passed in the practice of the profession before that date; some time also in preparation for it, and yet there seems to be several years to be accounted for between his leaving the University and engaging in this profession; and to those years when he was living without any definite plan of life before him is to be referred his cultivation of his musical talent, and some, if not most, of the compositions which are attributed to him. Morley's "Oriana," to which he was one of the contributors, was published as early as 1601. As the other known contributors to the Oriana were nearly all musicians by profession, it seems but a reasonable conjecture that the elder Milton might have once thought of taking up music as a profession.

Other musical compositions of his are, however, to be found in later collections, as in Sir William Leighton's "Tears of a Sorrowful Soul," 1614, and Slatyer's Psalms, 1643. Probably everything has been collected on this subject by Warton, Hawkins, and Burney. Warton's conjecture, that he was the John Melton, author of a book printed in 1609, entitled "A Six-fold Politican," requires better proof.

No other literary composition in print has ever, I believe, been attributed to him; and that he had much regard for literature is not quite so apparent as Mr. Todd would have us suppose: "Of whose attachment to literature, the Latin verses of his son, addressed to him with no less elegance than gratitude, are an unequivocal proof." I own they do not appear to me to support this opinion. It is true that they shew the father permittin his son to forsake the law,

and follow the bent of his genius; but they seem to me as if there were conveyed in them something approaching almost to the language of gentle and respectful reproach for neglecting literature too much, and confining himself so exclusively to music. If anything could raise a probability that the Six-fold Politician is the work of the elder John Milton, it would be the tone of the chapter in that work on "Poets," when it is compared with the language of this Epistle.

It is indeed sufficiently apparent that the father had but small literary power, and acted very wisely when, as joint sons of Apollo, he left the nobler province to his son. The Biographers and Editors of Milton have in this respect dealt gently, shall I say generously, with his memory. Yet it is something to know what kind of person the father of so great a man was, and therefore I venture to place upon this page that which is perhaps the only specimen which remains of attempts in verse by the elder Milton; for he who could write the lines which follow could never have attained to the delicacy of the Madrigal in Oriana, to which his music was set. The lines are a complimentary sonnet addressed to Lane—John Lane, the "fine old Queen Elizabeth's gentleman" of Philips' "Theatrum Poetarum." They were addressed to him on his poem, entitled Guy Earl of Warwick, which he finished in 1621. This poem no one has thought it worth his pains to draw from its obscurity of a manuscript life, and indeed it does not deserve the pains. It may be found in the Museum by those who desire to consult it.*

* Harl. 6243. The manuscript has the appearance of an author's autograph, and seems to have been intended for the press, having an imprimatur, dated July 13, 1617, signed John Taverner.

If virtue this be not, what is ? tell quick !
For childhood, manhood, old age, thou dost write
Love, war, and lusts quelled by arm heroic,
Instanced in Guy of Warwick, knighthood's light.
Heralds, records, and each sound antiquary
For Guy's true being, life, death, eke hast sought,
To satisfy those which *prævaricari ;*
Manuscript, Chronicle, if might be bought,
Coventry's, Winton's, Warwick's monuments.
Trophies, traditions delivered of Guy,
With care cost pain, as sweetly those presents,
To exemplify the flower of chivalry
From cradle to the saddle and the bier,
For Christian imitation, all are here.

I believe I am the first and shall be the last who prints these lines, which prove, beyond all dispute, that the elder Milton formed a just conception of his own powers, when he contented himself with "Melody's unmeaning notes, without the sense of words."

Mr. Todd, without any show of probability, would relieve the memory of the elder Milton from the burden of these verses, and lay them on John Melton, the worthy author of the book called "The Astrologaster ;" but the John Melton (Milton) who wrote these lines was a citizen of London, while the author of the Astrologaster was a lawyer, and dates the dedication of his very curious and useful book from his chamber. Milton addresses Lane as his friend, and the passage in the Theatrum of Philips, who was grandson of the elder Milton, to which we have already adverted, is plain evidence that there was a private intimacy and friendship between the families of Milton and Lane, else we should never have found even the qualified praise which, in that treatise, is bestowed on one who is surely among the least in

the Muses train. But if more were wanting to prove the intimacy which existed between Lane and the Miltons, and to fix on the elder Milton the verses above transcribed, it would seem to be supplied by a passage in Lane's poem on the Twelve Months. When, speaking of music, he names no other English composer but Milton, whom he calls Meltonus.

> Accenting, airing, curbing, ordering
> Those sweet, sweet parts *Meltonus* did compose
> As wonder's self amazed was at the close,
> Which in a counter-point maintaining *hielo*—
> 'Gan all sum up thus:—*Alleluiah Deo.*

Lane is the only writer of verse with whom, on grounds of high probability, Milton can be supposed to have become acquainted before he left his father's house for the University, and there appears to have been a kindly recognition of him in Milton's mind, when he wrote—

> Call up him who left half told
> The story of Cambuscan bold;
> Of Cambal and of Algarsife,
> And who had Canace to wife.

For Lane took the adventurous step of completing Chaucer's Squire's Tale. There was a copy of this attempt in possession of Dr. Farmer, with the date 1616, and there is now another copy in the Ashmolean Library, with the date 1630, both in manuscript, for no one has ventured to commit it to the press.*

* See Black's Catalogue of the Ashmolean Manuscripts, No. 53, and Catalogue of Dr. Richard Farmer's Library, No. 8047.—Lane's connection with the Miltons gives him a claim to attention, to which nothing

The precise time when the elder Milton retired from London has not been determined. Mr. Todd says that he had left London in 1632, when his son also took leave of

of his own could entitle him. His Guy of Warwick contains notices of Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Rowland, and Brown; but I cannot bring myself to quote more from Lane's manuscript. Another poem of his, of considerable length, is entitled "Triton's Triumph to the Twelve Months, husbanded and moralized." It is partly georgical and partly moral. There is a copy with the date 1621, in the Royal Manuscripts, at the Museum, 17 B. xv., and in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is another copy, which belonged to Prince Charles, O. ii. 68. He has prefixed an address to all lovers of the Muses, in which he writes in a strain of despondency, as an old man who had survived most of his friends. He speaks of his earlier poetical compositions, his Guy of Warwick, Squire's Tale, and Poetical Visions. He names again several of the older poets, and has more about Spenser than any other. Chaucer, Lydgate, Sidney, Daniel are there, together with poets of less note, as Hugh Holland.

> And Hugo Holland, who my lines did chide,
> For he an ill-made verse could ne'er abide.

And this explains a passage in the "Theatrum," where Philips says, speaking of Holland, that "he is thought worthy by some to be mentioned with Spenser, Sidney, and others, the chief of English Poets." Lane names also Sandford, a poet of still smaller fame:

> But first old Sanford call and Daniel fet,
> Two sweetly singing swans of Somerset.

Lane was himself of that county, or at least of some county in the West of England, for he writes thus:—

> So here ends Eastern Tusser's Husbandry,
> Repeated by Lane's Western poetry.

Of his Poetical Vision and Alarm to Poets, two other poems named by Philips, I have yet found no trace.

the University and joined him. The place to which he retired was Horton in Buckinghamshire, near the point at which the river Colne joins the Thames. We see that when he sought a country residence his mind turned towards the beechy groves of Buckinghamshire and the forest scenery of his native Oxfordshire. While here he lost his wife: she died on the 3rd of August, 1637, as appears by an inscription which is or was over her grave in the church of Horton, in the most ordinary style of such compositions.*

According to Aubrey he did not end his days at Horton. "He died 1647, and was buried in Cripplegate Church from his house in the Barbican:" and with this agrees what is said by Mr. Todd, that he came to live with his son the poet, after the surrender of Reading to the Earl of Essex in 1643. His son Christopher lived at Reading. Milton's house would, it is to be feared, not be at that time the quiet abode which suited a person who had now it is supposed numbered eighty years, for it was in that year that Milton married the wife who so soon deserted him, an event which appears to have wrought up his mind to a state of high exasperation at the time, and to have brought dark shades of habitual discontentment over a mind originally perhaps light and cheerful, which were never wholly dispersed. And this leads me to a very painful part of my subject, one that I have hesitated much about the propriety of introducing at all, but seeing how many hard things are said of

* "Here lyeth the body of Sara Milton, the wife of John Milton, who died the 3rd of August, 1637." I give it as communicated to the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lvii. p. 779, without any other voucher of its authenticity.

Sir C. Young has informed me that he read in this summer 1855 in Horton Church just opposite the Communion Table.

Milton in public writings, and how many charges against him have been entertained, examined, and disposed of by former writers of his life, I shall proceed with a charge which has not, I think, been noticed by any of his biographers. I find it in the Life of Lord Keeper Williams, by Bishop Hacket, a work belonging to the highest rank of English literature for its historical information, its political wisdom, its vast compass of learning, and the eloquence with which every thing is enunciated. But Hacket was a strong party man, and he had an especial hatred of Milton. His work was not printed till 1693, but it was written as early as 1657, while the party in the State to which Milton belonged was in the ascendant.* I give the passage in his own words: "What a venomous spirit is in that serpent *Milton*, that black-mouthed *Zoilus* that blows his viper's breath upon those immortal Devotions, from the beginning to the end! This is he that wrote with all irreverence against the Fathers of our Church, *and shewed as little duty to his father that begot him:* the same that wrote for the Pharisees that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause; and against Christ for not allowing divorce; the same, O horrid! that defended the lawfulness of the greatest crime that ever was committed, to put our thrice excellent King to death: a petty school-boy scribbler that durst grapple in such a cause with the prince of learned men of his age Salmasius," &c. p. 161. In this strain he

* This appears by what he has written, part ii. p. 229, "That which my prayers and studies have long endeavoured, the dispatch of this labour, is come to pass by the good hand of God this seventeenth of February, 1657," &c.

proceeds, writing with a virulence which is not surpassed even by the Iambics of Du Moulin. But I refer back to the special charge that he was deficient in his duty to his father. My copy of Hacket's work came from the library of some unknown but curious person living near the time of the publication of the book, who has written various pencil notes in the margin. He has underscored these words and written against them, "Milton justly reflected on." After all, however, the only foundation for this odious charge may have been that the poet did not conform to his father's wishes respecting the choice of a profession. We pass to another subject.

III. MILTON'S MOTHER. It seems extraordinary that we should have no certain information concerning the mother to whom England owes this one of the noblest of its sons. I mean in respect of the family to which she belonged, for her son has enabled us to judge what kind of person she was, when, in the passage in the Second Defence from which we have already quoted, after speaking of his father as a man of high integrity, he adds, "Matre probatissimâ et eleemosynis per viciniam potissimum notâ." She was the kind hospitable wife of a man of easy fortune, who scattered blessings around her, especially amongst those of her neighbours who were poor and unfortunate. Nothing we see is said of her birth, her beauty, her attainments, or her genius, but we are called to admire her benevolent spirit and her extensive charities. Milton was twenty-eight when she died, but he who so eminently excelled in elegiac strains, has not honoured her memory, or

indeed his father's, in that particular manner. When his father died he had forsworn the Muses, and become the ecclesiastical and political controversialist, but when the mother died he was living in the inspiring shades of Horton.

There is the greatest uncertainty and contradiction in the authorities on this subject concerning the family to whom she belonged. Philips, her grandson, says, that she was a Caston of a genteel family, originally from Wales. Wood says, that he heard from one who had it from Milton himself, or his near relations, that she was of the ancient family of the Bradshaws. He means Aubrey, unless Aubrey is to be considered as a second testimony, for Aubrey certainly says, that her original name was Bradshaw.* But this does not assist in the identification, for the families bearing this name are not a few. President Bradshaw left Milton a legacy, but it may be presumed to have been a gift arising out of their political connection rather than any kindredship, for there is no place for the wife of Milton in the well-laboured pedigree by Mr. Ormerod of the Bradshaws of Marple, to whom the President belonged. If we go to Bradshaw of the Haigh in Lancashire, or Bradshaw of Eyam in Derbyshire, the search will be equally in vain; yet the genealogy of those families has been investigated with some assiduity. Peck the antiquary has another story. According to information received from Mr. Roger Com-

* Wood's article on Milton is chiefly from information given him by Aubrey, but there are things which he did not derive from him: and this gives countenance to the statement of Mr. Loveday, that Wood received part of his information respecting Milton from —— Joyner, a Fellow of one of the Colleges at Oxford.

berbach of Chester in 1736, there had been in the possession of Mrs. Milton, the widow of the Poet, who was then lately deceased, a painting which was said to be of the arms of the father and mother of Milton. Under the husband's coat was written, "Milton of Com. Oxon." and under the wife's "Haughton of Haughton Tower, in Com. Lanc." Hence it was concluded, that the lady of whom we are in search, was of the family of Hoghton of Lancashire, the second family in England admitted into the Order of Baronets. But here the same difficulty presses. No trace of any such connection can be found in any of the Hoghton pedigrees. Besides, bringing with it, as such a marriage would have done, so many powerful connections, we should certainly have found some trace of it in the life or writings of the poet: or if not there, in the writings of the Philips'. On the whole, I am compelled to leave the question, with thus presenting the three opposed statements, and repeating the remark, how extremely difficult it is to recover genealogical facts which past generations have left unrecorded.

She was the mother of five children. The baptism of Anne the eldest, has not been found, but the others occur in the Register of All Hallows, Bread Street: viz. John, baptized December 20, 1608; Sarah, July 15, 1612; Tabitha, January 30, 1613; and Christopher, December 3, 1615. The same Register informs us, that Sarah was buried in the Church in August 1612.* Anne married, 1, Edward Philips, Secondary of the Crown Office, by whom two memorable sons, John and Edward; and 2, —— Agar, by whom, Mary, who died young, and Anne who was alive in 1654. Of Tabitha nothing more appears to be known.

* Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. ii. p. 10.

IV. MILTON INTENDED FOR THE LAW. When Milton left Cambridge he joined his father at Horton; and then came the question to what course of life he should be devoted. This was likely to open a subject on which father and son might be expected not to accord. "It is certain," says Mr. Todd, "that he declined the Law, and also that he declined the Church." Dr. Newton thinks that he had too free a spirit to be limited and confined; that he was for comprehending all sciences and professing none. His conduct, however, on these occasions is a proof of the sincerity with which he had resolved to deliver his sentiments: "For me I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth."

That it was intended he should take up the Law as a profession, rests at present mainly upon the interpretation of a passage in the verses "Ad Patrem," which I shall present in Mr. Strutt's translation.

> O Father, sure that hatred is but feigned
> With which thou entertainest the gentle Muse
> For thou didst never to my choice commend
> Those paths of action that to speedy wealth
> Lead with alluring hope; nor did thy will
> Condemn me to the tedious law's pursuit,
> Nor chain my ear to client's idle tongues;
> But more desirous to enrich my mind,
> Far from the haunts of men, my willing youth
> Thou ledst apart to silent pensive shades,
> By wild Aonia's streams; and there didst leave
> Thy grateful son companion to the Muse.

This scarcely goes so far as to prove a settled and mature design that Milton should enter upon the study of the

Law, and this gives an importance to the fact I am about to mention, in its bearing on this critical period of the poet's life, and which seems to leave unquestionable, that the poet did at one time seriously intend to enter upon the study in a formal and regular manner.

There exists a copy of Fitz-Herbert's "Natura Brevium," the edition of 1584, in the title page of which is written in Milton's beautiful hand-writing

Johes Milton: me possidet.

And on a fly-leaf at the beginning in the same hand

Det Christus studiis vela secunda meis.

But this is not all, for a little lower on the same page we find, in another hand,

Det Christus studiis vela secunda tuis.

We can hardly doubt that this was written by the father, with whose hand-writing I am not acquainted.

It is remarkable, that this copy of Fitz-Herbert appears to have been in the possession of another poet of the time, these words appearing on a later fly-leaf, "John Marston oeth this book."

This interesting volume is still in its original binding of dark brown calf, with an ornament impressed in the centre. The hand-writing of Milton authenticates itself: but the volume has a satisfactory pedigree. In 1830, it was the property of the Rev. Dr. Stedman, son of the Rev. Mr. Stedman, Vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, to whom it had been presented as a curiosity by Mr. Joshua Eddowes, a bookseller and printer of that town, who was born in 1724, and who informed Mr. Stedman that it came to him out of

books which had belonged to Mrs. Milton, the poet's widow, who died in 1727 at Nantwich, where Mr. Eddowes had relations living at the time of her death.

V. The Poet's Travels.—When all idea of placing him in a profession was abandoned, his father allowed him to travel abroad. Of this period of his life the accounts which have been given are too general, that is, they are too deficient of specific notes of time and place. It does not appear that more letters than two exist which were written by him during the time he was abroad. All that is said respecting him is, that he set out in 1638; yet dates give a feeling of confidence in the statement of facts, so that it will not be wholly without its use to future writers on the life of this eminent person, to say that there exists evidence which seems to shew that he was at Geneva on June 10, 1639. The kind of evidence is like that which we have just adduced for another fact. It is his own hand-writing in an Album which was brought to England a few years ago and sold by public auction. It had belonged to the Cardouins, a Neapolitan family settled at Geneva, where they taught the Continental languages to Englishmen staying in that city. Milton writes thus:

If virtue feeble were
Heaven itself would stoop to her.

Cœlum, non animum, muto, dum trans mare curro.
Junii 10°, 1639. Joannes Miltonius Anglus.

It would seem that he was on his return to England, where he is said to have arrived in the month of August 1639. Nearly half the names in this album are of Englishmen.

Amongst them are Thomas Wentworth, who was afterwards Earl of Strafford; Lord Cranburn, 1609, Henry Clifford, Sir Andrew Kniveton, who writes as if he were an unwilling exile from his native land; George Thomason, probably the person who collected what are called the King's Pamphlets in the Museum; Daniel Boughton, who inscribed his name on the day following that on which Milton inscribed his.

VI. His Settlement in London.—Milton had by this time reached his thirty-second year, and had probably begun to perceive that his life was too purposeless to be either useful or happy, and that the state of the fortunes of his family would not justify him in keeping himself free from the restraints which necessarily attend regular and gainful employment. He had been so far in life apparently his own master, devoted to desultory reading, study, and the Muse, and to whatever might gratify his taste or feed his imagination. He had already produced many short poems of exquisite finish and beauty. We may wish that there were more of them. He saw, moreover, at this period of his life, that evil times were coming, when there would be no ear to listen to even the sweetest warblings, and when no writings but those of political and religious controversy would be heeded. He now, therefore, looked abroad for gainful employment, and the course which seemed at first best open to him was the instruction of youth. And with this purpose, soon after his return to England, he took a lodging in St. Bride's Churchyard, Fleet Street, and began with his two nephews, John and Edward Philips, sons of a sister who was older than himself, and who both shewed themselves in after life not unworthy pupils of so eminent a master. Doubtless

much was to be learned from him, though there is probably sufficient ground for the strong objections which have been taken to his system of education. He did not continue long near that great thoroughfare, and when he removed it was to a house which appears to have been, in point of situation at least, well adapted to his purpose, a Garden-house in Aldersgate Street, near to the gardens and those open spaces which had formed the precincts of the Charter House.

Ths exact time of his removal to this house is not shewn by his biographers, and all that I am able to do is to fix a period before which he must have become an inhabitant of his Garden-house. This I am able to do from a record in the Exchequer, entitled "A Book of the Names and Surnames, Degrees, Ranks and Qualities of all the Inhabitants of the Ward of Aldersgate, London, July, 1641." It was made for the purpose of levying the poll-tax of that year. We find Milton in the part which relates to what is called "The Second Precinct of St. Botolf parish," and the reader may not be displeased to see in this contemporary notice, Milton with his small establishment of one maid-servant, and the names also of the families who occupied the houses on the right and left of his.

Richard Musckle and his wife, a weaver.
Richard Dawson, an attorney.
Mrs. Pallavicini, widow.
John Welsford and his wife, parish-clerk.
Prosper Rainsford, gentleman.
Jo. Milton, gent.
Jane Yates, his servant.
Jokay Mathewes and his wife, gent. with 4 servants.

Justinian Povey and wife, Auditor; Ann Povey, his daughter, and 4 servants.

Jo. Birch and his wife, gent.

Sir Thomas Cecil, out of town.

Dr. Alexander Gill, who had formerly been Master of St. Paul's School, the renowned foundation in which Milton studied, lived in the same second precinct, as did also Mr. Vernon, a counsellor, so that Milton's house was situated in what in modern phrase would be called a genteel part of the town.

Milton did not pay the tax at the time when it was expected from him, for in another paper entitled "The names of those who have not paid us of the Gentry in the Second Precinct," we find his name as well as the names of Dr. Gill and Mrs. Pallavicini. Gill is a known friend of Milton, and the Pallavicinis were connected with the Cromwells by ~~three~~ several marriages.

He had also another near neighbour at this period of his life, whose name is often mentioned in connection with that of Milton—Theodore Deodati, a Doctor of Physic. He did not live in the same precinct with Milton, being an inhabitant of Little Saint Bartholomew. He also, like Milton, is returned as one of those who had not paid their poll-tax in 1641.

We find not, indeed, the name of Milton, for the record is damaged in that place, and yet enough remains, when compared with the list before given, to shew that Milton is there intended, in another list of inhabitants of that Second Precinct, made in January the next year. It is a list of those who contributed to the "Collection for Ireland." Milton's contribution was four pounds, a large sum when compared with the contributions of his neighbours: and this contribution may be taken as some proof of the zeal with

which he entered at the beginning of the struggle into political affairs: this contribution being really a strong manifestation against the King. The persons whose names follow his, Mr. Matthews and Auditor Povey, contributed only £1. each, nor did the contribution of any person in the whole precinct except his exceed £2.

VII. Milton's first Marriage. The Powels.—He was an inhabitant of this Garden-house when he married. He went into the country, was absent a month, and, to the surprise of his friends, returned home, bringing with him a wife. This was at Whitsuntide, 1643. Whitsuntide was in that year very early, not later than the 14th of May. It was during the height of the Civil Wars, and though Milton had already appeared as a champion of the party who sought Church-reform, the family with whom he thus connected himself were of different sentiments from his, both political and ecclesiastical. Such marriages are not unusually amongst the most happy, and the unhappiness which at first attended this connection is attributable to other causes than to the want of community of opinion on public questions. Nor is it difficult to account for Milton's introduction to the family of the Powels. They were principal persons in the vicinity of Shotover, living at Forest Hill, and we can hardly conceive of Milton having had so little of the love of the natal soil of his family, as not to have sometimes visited the neighbourhood of Shotover while he lived at Horton, if there may not even have been persons still residing there to whom he was linked by ties of consanguinity. There is, I fear, no solid basis of fact to sustain the agreeable speculations in Sir William Jones's letter to Lady

Spencer. The speculations, however, are very pleasing, and pleasingly presented to us.

The latest of the biographers of Milton has devoted many leaves of his work to the Powels and their affairs; and rightly, since their history is closely bound up with the history of the poet's life. I shall supply a few additional particulars.

All the biographers concur in representing Richard Powel, whose daughter Milton married, as a Justice of the Peace for the county of Oxford, and as residing at Forest Hill, in the vicinity of Shotover. Of this there is ample proof in innumerable contemporary documents. But when, as hath been sometimes the case, it is added that he was Powel of Sandford, there is a confusion and an error; and if it be said that he was of the family seated at Sandford, that would, it is believed, be a statement which could not be supported by evidence, however probable it may appear, considering that Sandford is but three or four miles distant from Forest Hill, and that Powel is a rare name in that part of the country. The Powels of Sandford, however, were a Roman Catholic family, which the Powels of Forest Hill were not; and the Powels of Sandford were of superior rank, better wealth, and better alliance than the Forest Hill family. Their pedigree will be found on record in Philipot's Visitation of Oxfordshire, 1634. In that Visitation there is no account of the Powels of Forest Hill. There is some peculiarity, and perhaps some mystery about this. We find the following note made by the Heralds:—"Memorandum, that Ric. Powel, of Forest Hill, in Com. Oxon. Justice of the Peace in Com. predict. being upon business in that quality, when he should have appeared at Oxford, sent the

King of Arms' fee, desiring respit to perfect those matters that concern his arms and descent at the Herald's Office, in Michaelmas Term next, which was granted at Tame, 21 August, 1634." There are not many such entries in the Heralds' books, else they would go far to determine the question whether absence from the Visitation Books is to be taken as decisive evidence of the want of gentility in families not found in them. He had then been living fourteen years, at least, at Forest Hill, for we find him assessed there in 1620.

He became a person of principal sway and influence in the Forest country, in virtue of the provisions of an indenture which bears date July 8, 1636, which gave him the entire management and controul of the Forest affairs of Shotover and Stow-wood, upon easy terms. The indenture contains some interesting particulars, beside throwing light on the position in his country of Milton's father-in-law and his family, and may therefore admit of a somewhat extended notice. It is made between the King, on the one part, and John Bancroft, D.D. Bishop of Oxford, Bryan Duppa, D.D. Dean of Christ Church, Henry King, John King, and Gilbert Sheldon, Doctors of Divinity of the University of Oxford, and Richard Powel of Forest Hill, Esquire, on the other; and recites in the preamble that his Majesty had been informed that the coppices in his Forest of Shotover and Stow-wood have been much spoiled and decayed, and many of the stems and stowells dead and worn out, so that in truth they did not bear the name of coppices, but were generally very thin and mean shere-wood, and had of late years received much detriment by reason of ill fences and the daily trespasses of the keepers and by the fall of trees and other abuses, so that they will not be fit to be fallen

again this eight or ten years at least, and that during that time it will be a great charge to repair and preserve the woods and fences thereof; and also that his Majesty had taken notice that the Bishop of Oxford, considering that there was no house at all belonging to the said bishoprick for the residence of the Bishop, hath built a fair house of stone at Cuddesden, five miles from Oxford, and but half-a-mile from the said forest of Shotover, with garden and out-houses, suitable to the dignity of a bishop, and had expended £2,400 at least, his intention being that the house should be appropriated to the bishoprick for the residence of the Bishop and his successors; and that his Majesty for the better enabling the Bishop to bear the charge of the said work, gave unto him 50 ton of timber out of the said forest of Shotover, which was employed in and about the said building, and had remitted to him the first-fruits, which amounted to £343. 7s. 11½d.; and, still further, that a proposition had been lately made to his Majesty in behalf of the said Bishop and the said Richard Powel, that his Majesty should grant to the Bishop and his successors a lease of the said decayed coppices for 60 years, paying for the first 10 years no rent at all, and for the residue of the term £100 a year, and Powel should forthwith take a lease from the Bishop of the premises for 59 years of the said term, paying after the expiration of the first ten years £100 a year to the Bishop, over and above the £100 a year to the King, and that he would also quicksett the mounds of the said coppices, having stake-boote, gate-boote, and stile-boote allowed him, and the keeper being prohibited from intermeddling with the underwood.—His Majesty does therefore grant such a lease to Duppa, King, King and Sheldon, persons nominated and trusted therein for the benefit of the Bishop

and his successors, reserving all great trees, timber trees, and all mines, the first payment of the rent to be at Michaelmas, 1646. The coppices are 17 in number, and in area 1474 acres 1 rood.

This indenture was surrendered, and another with the same recitals and with variations in the provisions, not material, was entered into on March 30, 1637, and enrolled on the 10th of June following.

It is some confirmation of the deranged state of the affairs of Mr. Powel at the time of his decease, concerning which we hear so much in Mr. Todd's Life of Milton, that in the accompts of the Receiver General for the County of Oxford ending at Michaelmas, 1649, it is returned that three years and a half of this rent of £100 to the King was then due and unpaid. It was ordered, therefore, that process should issue against his heirs.

Mr. Todd has probably, in the opinion of those who do not advert to the circumstance how much the Powels had to do with the private history of the poet's life, said enough and perhaps more than enough concerning the affairs of Richard Powel, his father-in-law. Yet I shall venture to add one other document to those which Mr. Todd has printed, illustrative of the state of the family at the period of which we are speaking. It is taken from a MS. book entitled "The Certificate of the Solicitor for Sequestration in the County of Oxford," and is as follows:—

Richard Powel of Forest Hill, Esq. his estate sequestered for Delinquency, 17th June 1646.

The Goods, besides the Crop and Tithe, with £100 in Mr. Elridge's hands, valued at £410.

Sold the Goods and Timber (except that in Mr. Elridge's hands, and

32 silver pieces, 4½ yards of gold and silver galoon, and a silver sugar-spoon) to Mr. Matthew Apletre, of London by the said Collectors Webb, Vivers, and King, for £335. *viz.*—

One parcel of Hops about one hundred weight	2	0	0
One little Bull	1	10	0
A Clock and Bell	2	0	0
14 quarters of Maslin	14	0	0
5 quarters of Malt	5	0	0
6 bushels of Wheat	1	2	0
Divers parcels of household stuff	68	8	0
Four Carts, 1 Wain, 2 old Coaches, 1 mare Colt, 4 Hoggs, 2 Sheep, 4 parcels of deal boards, 240 pieces of timber, 100 butts of timber, a parcel of tyer wood	241	0	0

After sale of the said goods, upon appointing collectors for every division, the said collectors Lester, Apletre, and Churchill being appointed collectors for that hundred before delivery of the said goods did enter upon the same by warrant from the Committee.

Before delivery of the said goods the timber was disposed of by ordinance of Parliament for the building of a minister's house, a gaol, and to be employed for other uses in the town of Banbury.

The corn was eat up and spent by the soldiers.

The rest of the goods to be accounted for by the buyer thereof.

The crop of corn growing upon the ground and all the estate was entered upon by Sir Robert Pye, who did produce a title unto the same, which, not being then entered, is necessary to be enquired into.*

The said pieces of silver and lace sold by the said collectors Webb and Vivers for £2. 0*s.* 6*d.*

We collect from this document something of the style in which Mr. Powel had lived, and at the same time we see how severely the then dominant party had dealt with him.

* The title was a mortgage which Sir Robert afterwards assigned to John Pye.

He lived not quite six months after these proceedings, dying at the house of his son-in-law Milton, on or about the first of January, 1646-7.

He left a widow Anne Powel, with eight children. She had brought him £3000 fortune, and was now left almost penniless. For what Milton did to serve her I must refer the reader to Mr. Todd's collection of documents. But it may be added that she was the daughter of Robert Moulton of Honyborne, in the County of Worcester, Gentleman,* by Mary his wife, daughter of Richard Archdale of Whatley, in the neighbourhood of Shotover. This appears in the Visitation of London, 1634, where her four brothers, John, Abraham, Cyprian, and Virgil Archdale are mentioned. A sister of Mary Archdale married John Stampe of Halton, gentleman. Matthew Archdale of Wycombe, who headed the soldiers when they broke up the meeting held by Milton's friends the Quakers, Pennington, Elwood, and others at Wycomb, was of this family. See for the particulars Elwood's account of his own life.

Sir Robert Pye was living at Forest Hill, at Christmas, 1647, as was also dame Ursula Whorwood. But the Powels seem to have returned, for in the roll of persons contributing to the Hearth Tax in 1665, the principal person at Forest Hill is a Richard Powel, probably a brother-in-law of Milton, who was charged for seven hearths.

"Perhaps it was in 1653 that Milton lost his first wife." It is remarkable that neither the precise time of her death nor the place of her interment has been discovered. It is

* William Moulton and Milicent his wife were living at Todenham, co. Gloc. in the 42nd of Elizabeth, where they assign tythe at Church Honyborne to William Bond of London, Esquire.

said that she died in child-bed, and if so it seems that it must have been at the birth of his daughter Deborah on the 2nd of May, 1652. She is the youngest child whose birth is entered by Milton, in a family Bible, of which we have the following valuable notice by Dr. Birch:

Additional MSS. in the Museum 4244 f. 53.—"1749-50, January 6. I visited Mrs. Foster, grand-daughter to Milton, who keeps a chandler's shop in Cock Lane near Shoreditch Church, where she told me she had lived about a year, having lived about seven years in Lower Holloway, after removing from Pelham Street, Spital Fields, where I saw her in February 1737-8. Her brother, Mr. Clarke, died at her house at Lower Holloway, as did likewise, at above ninety years of age, her cousin Mrs. Milton, niece of Milton and daughter of his brother Sir Christopher Milton. I presented her five guineas from Mr. Yorke. She shewed me her grandmother's Bible in octavo, printed by Young in 1636, on a blank leaf of which Milton has entered with his own hands the births of his children as follows:

Anne, my daughter, was born July the 29th, the day of the Monthly Fast, between six and seven, or about half-an-hour after six: she living 1646.

Mary, my daughter, was born on Wednesday October 25 on the Fast Day, in the morning about six o'clock, 1645.

My son John was born on Sunday, March the 16th, at about half-an-hour past nine at night, 1650.

My daughter Deborah was born the 2nd of May, being Sunday, somewhat before three of the clock in the morning, 1652.

In his wife's writing,—I am the book of Mary Milton.

Dr. Newton had been with her and given her a guinea sometime ago: Mr. Lauder lately, and Dr. Foster within these four days. She told me that her great-uncle Sir Christopher Milton had, besides his two daughters who died unmarried and had lived at Highgate for many years, another who was married to Mr. Pendlebury, a clergyman."

Probably the age of the mother, Milton's first wife, did not much exceed thirty.

VIII. Milton's second Marriage.—While so much labour has been bestowed in inquiries respecting the Powels and Minshuls, the families from whom Milton received his first and his third wife, very little inquiry has ever been bestowed on the family connections of Catherine Woodcock, the second wife, who died his "late-espoused saint," in February, 1657-8, and was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on February 10. She is said to have died in child-bed, and the child, a daughter, is said to have soon followed her. Of her family, all that has been told us is that she was the daughter of a Captain Woodcock of Hackney, to which Mr. Todd annexes a conjecture that she was probably related to Francis Woodcock, one of the Assembly of Divines.

But if conjecture so loose as this is to be admitted in biographical writing, it might with greater plausibility be said that she was probably related to Thomas Woodcock, another Puritan divine of the time, because this Thomas Woodcock, who in the Commonwealth time had the living of St. Andrew Undershaft, when he returned from Holland, to which he had retired, settled at Hackney, and appears to have continued there till his death.* The only Captain Woodcock of the Civil war times with whose name I am acquainted, is a Captain John Woodcock, who on Oct. 6, 1653, gives a receipt for 13*l.* 8*s.* to the Treasurer-at-War on the disbanding of his troop: and this person may seem to have a good claim to be the father of Milton's second wife.

* Calamy's "Account of the Ejected and Silenced Ministers," 8vo, 1713, p. 44.

There was a Thomas Woodcock, a scrivener in London, who died in February, 1623. He was a grandson of John Cawood the stationer, and had two sons named Thomas and John.*

IX. Milton's third Marriage.—The Minshuls.—The poet's third wife was Mrs. Elizabeth Minshul, a Cheshire lady, related to Dr. Paget, a physician, one of Milton's most intimate friends. So much has been always known respecting her, but the particular family of Minshul to which she belonged has been unknown, and in the absence of knowledge, mistaken conjectures have been propounded, and she has been represented as being of the Minshuls of Stoke, a family of the higher kind of gentry, and connected with many of the best families of the County of Chester, an honour to which she had no pretension.†

In 1834, there appeared in a Catalogue of Manuscripts, issued by Mr. Pickering, a description of a collection of Legal Instruments, relating to the affairs of Mrs. Milton,

* See London Pedigrees, in Harl. 1444, f. 13. Thomas Woodcock the divine is said by Calamy to have been born in Rutlandshire.

† Mr. Todd declares without reserve that she was a daughter of Sir Edward Minshul of Stoke, near Nantwich. If so, she would have been descended of the Fittons of Gawsworth, and connected with the Mainwarings, by several marriages. Besides, Sir Edward was not born before 1628, and in 1649 had only two children, Edward his son and heir, and a daughter Mary. If a daughter Elizabeth had been born to him in 1650, she would have been barely fifteen when she married the blind poet. Further, what evidence we have guides us to another family of the name. Mr. Todd's work, however, is a most admirable one, both in the biographical part of it, and where he appears in the character of Editor and Annotator.

one of which is described as being "Richard Minshul's (brother of Elizabeth Milton) agreement with Elizabeth Milton for a house at Nantwich, 1680." This document is much more fully described in the Athenæum, of September 22, 1849, by a correspondent who writes from Warrington, subscribing himself J. F. M., in whose possession the papers in question now are, as a Bond, dated June 4, 1680, from Richard Minshul of Wisterson, in Com. Cestr. frame-work knitter, to Elizabeth Milton, of the City of London, widow, reciting that he had surrendered a certain messuage, &c. at Brenley, &c.

Now this guides us at once to the particular family of Minshul to which the third wife of Milton belonged: a family which had been seated on a small estate at Wistaston, near Nantwich, from the time of Queen Elizabeth, but of a very different rank from the Minshuls of Stoke. There was a relationship between this family and the Randal Holmes of Chester, and this led to inquiries from the second Randal Holme, of Richard Minshul, concerning his descent and family, and these inquiries led to the two following letters, which are preserved among the Holmes' Manuscripts at the Museum in Harl. 2039, f. 163 and 164:—

"Deare and Loveing Sonne,

"My love & best respects to you & to my daughter tendered wth trust of yo^{r} health. I have reaceived Mr. Alderman Holmes his letter, together wth yo^{rs}, wherin I understand that you desire to know what I can say concerning our coming out of Minshull house. I can say but little, but what I have heard from my Grandfather, Randall Minshull his owne mouth, w^{ch} was this, he tould me his

father came out of Minshull house, and that his name was John Minshull, he married Robert Couper his younger daughter, who then lived at Wistaston house. This Couper had no sonne, but two daughters, and he devided his lande equallie betweene them. Now John Minshull, my great Grandfather, did builde upon that moitie, and halfe parte w^{ch} did falle to him, the w^{ch}, he himselfe, Randall Minshull my Grandfather, and Thomas Minshull my father, and I Richard Minshull, have enjoyed and doe enjoy the same unto this p^{r}sent. This is all I can say, soe I comitt you to God, and ever Rest

"Yo^{r} loveing Father,

"May 3, 1656. "Ric. Minshull.

"*For my deare and loveing Sonne Richard Minshull at Chester.*"

"D^{r} & loveing Cosin,

"my true love, and best respects tendred, wth trust of yo^{r} health, I have reaceived yo^{r} letter, wherin I understand, that you desire to be certefied whose daughter my Grandmother was, alsoe whose daughter my Mother was; moreover, what unckles or Auntes or great unckles I had. Now, for yo^{r} better satisfaction herin, my Grandmother was Rawlinson his daughter of Crew, my mother was Gouldsmyth his daughter of Namptw^{ch}; and as for unckle or unckles, I never had any that I did knowe, but I had two Auntes, one married Crew of Audlim, the other married Aston of Hedsford, neare Leichfield. Noe more for p^{r}sent, soe I remayn yo^{r} ever loveing freund and kinsman,

"Richard Minshull.

"Wistaston, 20 May, 1656.

"*For his Loving Cosin Mr. Alderman Holmes at Chester these dd.*"

To those who are acquainted with the manuscripts of the Randal Holmes, which were bought by the Earl of Oxford, and therefore know what an immense multitude of very minute facts are preserved by those most industrious collectors, it will appear extraordinary that they should have permitted the subject to rest here, and not have entered in some part of their collections other information which might easily have been obtained by them respecting the Minshuls of Wistaston: and perhaps it is equally extraordinary, considering the consequence the name had obtained, both by the verse and the political conduct and writings of Milton, and the connection which he had formed with a member of a family allied to their own, that we search in vain in this vast collection of Cheshire evidence for any special notice of the Miltons of that county, who, though not persons of the first consideration, were yet of superior note and position to many families of whom they have left very particular and valuable notices. The Pagets also who were connected with Elizabeth Minshul, who, herself a young woman, married the poet in his declining age and his state of blindness, are equally passed over by them. Possibly however the fact they have preserved that John Paget, a preacher at Amsterdam, 1612, married Bridget, daughter of Richard Maisterson of Nantwich,* may be the origin of the relationship between Elizabeth Minshul of Wistaston and Dr. Paget, who introduced her to Milton, and recommended her to him for his wife. There was a Dr. Paget, a

* Harl. 2142. The mother of Mrs. Paget was a daughter of Sir Thomas Grosvenor, of Eaton; and Mrs. Paget had a sister, wife of Sir John Gibson, LL.D.

doctor in physic, occupying a tenement at Hammersmith in 1651, who was doubtless Milton's friend.

The tradition at Nantwich that the poet was born there, noticed in Partridge's history of that town, has no other foundation than that there were persons of the name of Milton living at Nantwich in the seventeenth century, and that Elizabeth, the poet's widow, returned to Nantwich to end her days there, which is sufficiently explained by the fact that her own relatives were of that neighbourhood. A "Mr. Milton" occurs among the tenants of the Whetenhalls at Nantwich in 1654, and a Humphrey Milton of Nantwich and Stapeley occurs in Holmes' pedigree of the Hodgsons of Minshul-Vernon, 1705, as father of Alice, who towards the close of the preceding century, married Joseph Hodgson of that place.* Humphrey was Receiver-General of the County of Chester in the time of the Commonwealth.

The disputes in the family of the poet after his decease, on which so much light has been let in by his latest and best biographer, may well be supposed to have ended in a perpetual estrangement between the widow and the children. The children appear to have been left very poorly provided for, to struggle with a world which was not over-kind to them, while the widow retired to the district in which her first breath was drawn, to live amongst the remains of her own family, and at her death, by a will which is singularly deficient of any thing of the least interest, she gives whatever she had to her nephews and nieces at Nantwich, without even calling any of them by their names. The date, according to the writer in the Athenæum for Sept. 29, 1849, is August 27, 1727, who further says that it was proved before

* Harl. 2142.

the Rural Dean of Nantwich on the 10th of October following. It would appear from this that she died between those two periods; and yet in the printed copy of a sermon preached at her funeral by Isaac Kimber, it is said that it was preached on March 10, 1726.

Whatever may have been the exact time of her death, it appears that she must have survived her husband the long term of fifty-two or fifty-three years. She died at Nantwich where she was a member of a congregation of Anabaptists, one of three which only in her time existed in the County of Chester. That she belonged to this religious community is the more remarkable, inasmuch as it was at Nantwich that the family of Major-General Harrison lived, the first person put to death for his share in the death of King Charles the First, and the chief political leader of the sect of Anabaptists. It would appear from this, that she had imbibed some of the peculiarities of her husband in respect of outward religious ministrations, for if she could not conform to the Church, there was a Presbyterian congregation with a very learned and pious minister in the town ready to receive her. She made the minister of her own congregation, Samuel Acton, one of her executors. The other was John Alcock, who alone proved the will.* The effects were sworn to be under forty pounds.

* Isaac Kimber who preached the Funeral Sermon was assistant to Mr. Acton, for three years, 1724-1727, when he left Nantwich in some disgust. See Memoirs of his Life written by his son, Edward Kimber, and prefixed to "Sermons on the most interesting Religious, Moral and Practical Subjects, by the late Reverend and Learned Mr. Isaac Kimber," London, 8vo. 1756, the volume which contains the Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Milton. Both the Kimbers were writers for the public press.

X. Sir Christopher Milton, the Poet's brother.—Christopher Milton, of Reading, Esquire, and William Keech of Fleet Street, goldbeater, became bound, September 24, 1646, for the payment of £40. composition money with delinquents at Goldsmith's Hall, on the 24th of December next ensuing, "with such other sums of money as the Honourable House of Commons shall impose as a further fine for the said Christopher Milton his delinquency." The device on the seal is a lion rampant: but there can be no doubt that this is the brother of the poet, who lived at that time at Reading.

Le Neve, who never scruples to tell disagreeable truths in the plainest terms, says of him, that "he was a lawyer in Suffolk, not a considerable one, but being a Papist was promoted at this time," 1686: in which year he was made a Baron of the Exchequer, and knighted at Whitehall on the 25th of April, Sir John Powel of Broadway receiving the honour at the same time. Le Neve gives us this further information respecting him, that he lived at Rushmore and at Ipswich: that his wife was Thomasine, daughter of William Webber of London, who died before he was made a Baron: and that they were both buried in St. Nicholas' Parish, Ipswich. He says nothing of the three daughters of whom Dr. Birch speaks, but names his son Thomas Milton, Esquire, Deputy Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. This Thomas married Martha, daughter of

There is an engraved portrait of the elder Kimber, who died in 1755, at the age of 61. With his turn for biographical and historical writing, it is remarkable that he should have said nothing in the sermon concerning Mrs. Milton, on whose decease he descants only on "the vanity and uncertainty of HumanLife," from James iv. 14.

Charles Fletewood, of the town of Northampton, who outlived him and became the wife of William Coward, M.D. of London and Ipswich. These particulars are from Le Neve's Knight's Pedigrees, Harl. 5802.

XI. MILTON'S LAST LONDON RESIDENCE.— This, as is well known, was in Artillery Walk or Artillery Wall, as the name is written in a record I am about to quote. It is an account of the Hearth-money of the County of Middlesex for the year ending at Lady Day 1674, where we find Milton among his neighbours in Artillery Wall arranged thus, and inhabiting a house with four hearths.

Mr. Becke, 6 hearths.
Samuel Kindall, 4 hearths.
Widow Bowers, 4 hearths.
JOHN MELTON, 4 hearths.
Richard Hardinge, 6 hearths.
Mr. Howard, 5 hearths.

Milton died in this house on Sunday the 8th of November, 1674. It may assist in determining the precise site of the house if we add, that his is the ninth house as they are set down in the roll.

II. NOTES ON SOME OF THE POETICAL WORKS.

(I.) Comus.—After the masterly and almost complete Introduction to this Poem by the united labours of Warton and Todd, I feel alarmed and almost ashamed at the thought of standing forth to offer the few notices which follow, some of them, possibly, purposely left behind by them.—In an obscure corner of historical literature may be found some particulars respecting the state of the castle and town of Ludlow, as they were just before the time when Comus was represented in the Great Hall, which no one has yet noticed. It is in the life of Richard Baxter, written by himself, and published in 1696 in a folio volume. Baxter was born in November, 1615, and when he was of age to proceed to the University, which may have been about 1630, his father was dissuaded from the design of sending him thither and induced to place him with one Mr. Richard Wickstead, who was Chaplain to the Council of the Marches, and who was allowed to have a youth with him for instruction in University learning. Baxter remained with him at Ludlow, a dissatisfied pupil, for a year and a half, which brings us pretty nearly to 1634, the year of the performance of Comus. He describes the Castle as being a great house, "there being four Judges, the King's Attorney, the Secretary, the Clerk of the Fines, with all their servants, and all the Lord President's servants, and many more," and the town as full of temptations through the multitude of persons, councillors, attornies, officers and clerks, and "much given to tipling

and excess;" and he attributes to one friend, whose name he does not reveal, that he was saved from what he regarded the evil influences of the place, by which influences, however, he tells us his friend at last himself fell. This is the view given by a Puritan of the state of Ludlow at this period.

It appears as if this kind of dramatic entertainment constituted part of the established recreations of the Court of the Marches; since Aubrey informs us that, in 1637, a Pastoral was acted at Ludlow, which he calls "an exquisite piece," and he tells us that the author was — Goodwin, who was an officer of the Court, "a general scholar, and had a delicate wit, was a great historian and an excellent poet;" and he further tells us that he was the real author of "The Journey into France," which is printed among the Poems of Bishop Corbet. "When he sat in Court he was wont to have Thuanus or Tacitus before him; he was as fine a gentleman as any in England, though now forgot." Nor has any body, as far as I know, since thought of calling to remembrance one who thus dared to place himself in a kind of rivalry with Milton in his best days. Comparing further what Aubrey says, that he married a daughter of Sir Walter Long, of Draycot, with the very complete tabular view of the Longs, prepared by Mr. C. E. Long, it appears that his name was Ralph Goodwin, which seems to identify him with the "R. Goodwin" who has commendatory verses on Ben Jonson. We may well believe, from the way in which Aubrey speaks of him, that he is one of the many Englishmen quite forgotten, yet well deserving to be remembered.

Another poet of those times was also connected with the Court at Ludlow, and it may reasonably be presumed lent his aid in the elegant amusements at the Castle. This was

Abraham France, a better known name than Goodwin, on account of his having published various works in the early period of his life. His career as an author can be traced by his published works only from 1587 to 1592, and his subsequent life is not well accounted for by the writers on the poets of those times; but I have seen an Epithalamium which he wrote on the marriage of Sir Gervase Cutler with the Lady Magdalene Egerton, daughter of the Earl of Bridgewater, the Lord President, and one of the sisters of the three young Egertons who were the original performers of Comus.* This proves that France was alive in 1633. In a prose address to Sir Gervase Cutler, which is prefixed, he says, that he had paid the same compliment to all the Earl's other daughters on their marriages. He speaks also of the Earl as his "Lord," meaning that he held office under him at Ludlow. This is perhaps the latest notice which is known of France.

(II.) Lycidas.—The unhappy event which gave occasion to this most perfect of elegies is familiar to every one; but, though much has been written on the subject, the impression is not so clear and distinct as might be desired of the person on whose death it was composed. Edward King, then, was a younger son of Sir John King, who went to Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and being much employed by the Government acquired there considerable wealth. From his eldest son, Sir Robert King, descends the present Earl of Kingston and Baron Kingsborough.

* It is a manuscript very beautifully written, preserved among the collections of Dr. Nathaniel Johnston, the physician and antiquary of Pontefract, preserved at Campsall, in Yorkshire.

Edward King was of gentle blood by his mother, who was a Drury, niece of Sir William Drury, the Lord Deputy.

Warton and Todd have given a list of poems, of which Edward King was the author, to which some additions are made in the Miscellany Poems collected by the late Mr. John Nichols, vol. vii. p. 76, &c.

The wreck in which he perished occurred on August 10, 1637.

Cursory criticism.—Observe the beautiful manner in which the poet unfolds the circumstances of the fate of his friend: He is "dead"—"dead ere his prime."—But more remains to be told. See how he postpones the melancholy fact, interposing the amiable character of his friend, who was "young"—unequalled—and, above all, himself a poet. Then comes the sad truth, he was drowned—and the body had not been recovered. "Sable shroud," in line 22. This has always been a tempting epithet to the poets, and yet the propriety may be doubted when we know it to be so opposed to the practice. I submit whether it is proper to disjoin the next line—

For we were nursed upon the self-same hill, &c.

so far from the line preceding as to begin a new paragraph with it. It expresses the reason why he, the poet, should be so earnest with the Muse, so indecently earnest, as he would seem, had he not such a plea as this, that they had studied together, formed a firm friendship, and had a common love of poesy, which he represents under pastoral imagery. The new paragraph should begin at "Together," in the 25th line. In the 27th line there should be a longer pause at "a-field," than is indicated by a comma, for there ends

their morning labours, and then passing over mid-day he goes to their evening work. Line 53, he presents us with the scene of the calamity, near the mouth of the Dee, "where Deva *spreads* her wizard stream," widens, opens, as it approaches the sea. The precise scene of the calamity is no where more distinctly pointed out than in this poem. Line 65, "shepherds' trade," poetry. The affectation of calling poets shepherds, ran through much of the poetry of the Elizabethan period, but it is here less offensive than in some other cases, the whole turn of the Elegy being pastoral. Line 67, to live in Epicurean ease. Line 76, "slits" seems a word of questionable propriety. Line 76. Here begins bold daring of the poet, to put words in the mouth of Apollo, and the word "trembling," "and touched my trembling ears," seems to be intended to indicate that the poet felt that something of apology was required of him. He again virtually apologizes for this daring:

> That strain I heard was of a higher mood;
> But now my oat proceeds.

The simplest and humblest of all musical instruments: there is an emphasis on the word "my." Line 105, "Inwrought with figures dim." It is a personification of Cambridge, not as a town, but as a University, a seat of science, so that the figures on the robe or bonnet of Camus may be geometric diagrams, just as we see in old German prints of Grammar and Arithmetic, the dress of the figures embroidered with letters of the alphabet or the Arabic numerals. Line 106, "Like to that sanguine flower inscribed with woe." The Hyacinth. Line 108, to this assembly over the dead body of Lycidas, Triton, Æolus, Camus, is now added St.

Peter; and "Last came," &c. should be the beginning of a new paragraph. The whole of this passage grates harshly on the ear, and is not in keeping with the preceding portions of the Elegy; even if it be thought that there is a mistake in imagining that the poet contemplated at the moment the particular fate which was to fall on the then Archbishop. Yet Milton was fully aware of the severity of these lines, and perhaps of their incongruous character; and at line 132 he recalls the softer, the "Sicilian Muse." Line 135, place the comma after "flowrets," not after "bells," bell-shaped flowers as well as others being of various hues. Line 136, "where the mild whispers use." "Use" is employed by prose writers as well as poets, for inhabit, as by Leland, "He used Calais," dwelt there. Line 153, "Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise." Let us for a moment deceive ourselves with the thought that we may have it in our power to pay this honour to the dead body of our friend; and he then goes on in a strain of noble poetry to speak of the drifting of the body they knew not whither northward beyond the Hebrides, or southward to the coast of Cornwall. Warton's note on the "Great vision of the guarded mount," has long been admired as an instance of very elegant annotation, and yet it leaves the criticism incomplete. Line 177, "blest kingdoms," query "kingdom?" Line 184, "in thy large recompense." It shall be a part only of that vast recompense which will be thine, that thou shalt be the Genius of the Flood, acting perpetually under the promptings of thy own benevolent spirit. In the last paragraph Milton designates himself modestly as "the uncouth swain." Line 188, "the tender stops of various quills," shews that he was sensible of what might be supposed a

want of harmony in the several portions of his poem, and a want of unity among the characters introduced by him. He intimates also, *perhaps*, that it was the production of a single day. The close is graceful. He has fulfilled his duties to his lost friend. To-morrow he must attend to other duties.

I have ventured to say of the celebrated note of Thomas Warton, that it still leaves the criticism on the passage incomplete. It is not in the part in which he shews us what is meant by "the great vision of the guarded mount," but in the succeeding clause, "looks towards Namancos and Bayona's hold." Namancos is a place as little known to most readers of Milton as was before his time the "guarded mount" on the coast of Cornwall; and though "Bayona's hold" suggested to most readers Bayonne, which does not satisfy the condition, inasmuch as it is not a place which might be discovered over the ocean, with no land intervening, if an eye on the top of Mount St. Michael could reach so far, and to better informed readers, the Spanish Bayona in Galicia, against which however the same objection lies, though with less force. Yet Warton had not told us what places the poet really intended; so that there was room for the supplementary note of Mr. Todd, who tells us that, "a literary friend had directed him to Mercator's Atlas, edit. fol. Amst. 1623, and again in 1636, where in the map of Galicia, near the point Cape Finisterre, the desired place occurs, thus written, "*Namancos* T." This is very good for Namancos. Mr Todd proceeds—"In this map the Castle of *Bayona* makes a very conspicuous figure;" but this leaves room for a note supplementary to his supplement, for it is not quite clear what Mr. Todd means by the Castle of

Bayona. If it is some castle near to the Spanish Bayona, which is a probable interpretation, then would the poet lie open to the charge of having sacrificed geographical correctness to some poetical necessity; for the Bayona in Galicia, no more than the Bayonne of France, would be discovered by an eye looking from Mount St. Michael across the waves—or in other words, a line drawn from the Cornish mountain to that Bayona, would have to traverse a considerable tract of land, and not pass over sea only, which was what Milton obviously intended. So that the geographical illustration of this celebrated passage requires for its completeness something more.

That something I flatter myself that I am able to add. I believe that Milton did not by "Bayona's hold" intend either Bayonne in France, or Bayona in Spain, though they both lie in the direction in which the Angel must be understood to look, but another place called by the Dutch sailors "Cork Bayonne," which lay near the extreme point of Cape Finisterre, and therefore near to Namancos, and within ken (if he could see so far) of a person looking over sea without intervening land from the neighbourhood of our own Land's End, the Cape Finisterre of England. This place is not in the ordinary maps: but it is found in the map of the coast of Galicia in the rare book of Pilotage, printed at Amsterdam in 1662, and again in 1676, with the title "The Lightening Column or Sea-Mirrour." In one of the maps near the extreme point of Cape Finisterre is "Corco Bayona," which is thus spoken of in the text of the work—"About a league to the eastward of Cape de Finisterre on the south side, lyeth the haven of Seche or Corcovia, and is called by the Dutch shipmasters Corck Bayone."

"Bayona's hold" ought, I think, to be printed "Bayona's Hold."

(III.) EPITAPH ON THE MARCHIONESS OF WINCHESTER.—The expression

A Viscount's daughter, an Earl's heir

has not been explained by the Commentators, and yet it needs explanation; the sense usually given to the words, as if the lady were at once the daughter of a Viscount and the heir of an Earl, being not accordant with the fact. It was the Viscount, not his daughter, who was heir to an Earl.

Sir Thomas Savage, of Rock Savage, was created Viscount Savage on November 4, 1626, a creation to a dignity, it may be observed, which Sir William Dugdale appears to have overlooked. On the same day Thomas Lord Darcy, of Chich[illegible] was created Earl Rivers, with remainder failing male issue to the said Viscount Savage, who had married Elizabeth Darcy, the eldest daughter and co-heir of the newly created Earl Rivers. Viscount Savage died November 20, 1635, before his father-in-law, so that he never became Earl, the title on the death of Darcy Earl Rivers on the 21st of February, 1639, descending to John, second Viscount Savage, the eldest son of the former Viscount Savage. The Marchioness of Winchester was one of many children, sons and daughters, of the first Viscount Savage by Elizabeth Darcy, so could not with propriety be designated the heir to the Earl, though her father was so.

If this Epitaph was written near the time of the Marchioness' death, and if the date of her death is rightly given in a contemporary collection of Peers' Pedigrees in my

possession, 1631, it must have been one of the very earliest compositions of Milton.

(IV.) Ode on the Nativity.—On this I shall only just remark, that the story of the voice announcing the death of Pan seems to have been a favourite one among the learned of Milton's age. It is found in Sir Richard Berkley's *Summum Bonum*, 1598, and at large in the Travels of George Sandys. Also that the beautiful picture of the Shepherds "simply chatting in a rustic row," seems to owe its origin to Warner, who has these lines in his Albion's England.

> Then choose a shepherd: with the sun he doth his flock unfold,
> And all the day, on hill or plain, he merry chat can hold.

(V.) L'Allegro.—Apropos of shepherds. Milton's idea of a shepherd's life is that of a very happy one, which favours the interpretation of the

> Every shepherd tells his tale
> Under the hawthorn in the dale,

which every one must wish to be the true one, though the love of novelty and startling conjecture has inclined many to accept a more frigid interpretation.

Milton was a great reader of poetry, and a great number of passages lay deeply imbedded in his mind. His

> To many a youth and many a maid

seems to have had its origin in Chaucer.

> And many an hart and many an hynde.—*The Dream.*

(VI.) Il Penseroso.—There is no note on

> What worlds or what vast regions hold
> The immortal mind that hath forsook
> Her mansion in this fleshly nook—

but it seems as if it might be proper to point out that there is an opposition between "world" and "vast regions;" the one the peopled, the other empty, spaces.

Nor can I withhold myself from observing that the Commentators have left unnoticed a probable origin of the fine passage

> Oft on a plat of rising ground,
> I hear the far-off curfew sound,
> Over some wide-watered shore,
> Swinging slow with sullen roar;

in Constable's Third Sonnet of the Fifth Decade of his Diana.

> Or like the echo of a passing bell,
> Which sounding on the water seems to howl:
> So rings my heart a fearful heavy knell,
> And keeps all night in concert with the owl.

(VII.) Paradise Lost.

Book I., l. 61.

> A dungeon horrible on all sides round,
> As one great furnace flamed; yet from those flames
> No light; but rather darkness visible
> Served only to discover sights of woe:
> Regions of sorrow, doleful shades.—

Whoever has been in the interior of one of the great foundries at a time when the melted metal is let off into the ducts, will be at no loss for the realization of this picture

drawn by Milton. The strong bright light, too intense almost to be looked upon, does not illuminate the expanse, but really only serves to bring into view the remote obscurity; while the human beings, on whom as they move about light may casually fall, may be well mistaken for beings suffering the penalty of guilt. Milton has more exactly described one of these foundries in the present Book, l. 700–709.

Book I., l. 81.

To whom the Arch-Enemy,
And thence in heaven called SATAN.

This Milton's Hebrew reading would easily supply:—"שָׂטַן, *adversari; odio habere.*"—Buxtorf. We are not to understand the poet as meaning to say that Satan had this name in heaven before his revolt, a word perfectly incongruous to the heavenly society, but that he was so called in heaven after his fall, and his having taken the lead of the revolting host: and to this the poet calls attention in the Fifth Book, l. 658, where he makes Raphael say to Adam—

Satan, we call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in Heaven.

Book I., l. 123.

And, in the excess of joy,
Sole reigning, holds the TYRANNY of Heaven.

The rule, the sole authority: but Satan is skilfully made to select a word which, while it expressed the true sense, had so fallen into ill-repute, that it would call up ideas of the unjust exercise of the authority, without actually daring to make such a charge.

Book I., l. 203.

Him, haply, slumbering on the Norway foam,
The pilot of some small NIGHT-FOUNDERED skiff,
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
Moors by his side under the lea, while night
Invests the sea, and wished for morn delays.

"Night-foundered" here, and in the lines of Comus, in which it occurs,

Either some one, like us, night-foundered here,

means simply surprised by the coming on of night, overtaken by the darkness.

Book I, l. 287.

Like the moon, whose orb
Through optick glass the Tuscan Artist views
At evening from the top of Fesolé,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe.

Fesolé was one of the twelve ancient cities of Etruria, situated on one of the peaks of the Apennine range. It had fallen into great decay before the time of Milton. "Hodie hujus vestigia tantum cernuntur extra Florentiam, haud procul in Apennini colle," says the author of the "Parvum Theatrum Mundi," Franc. 4to., 1595, p. 187. If it could be shewn that Galileo was accustomed to resort to this eminence for the purpose of his celestial observations, it would go far to determine the question, whether, by "Tuscan Artist," Milton intended Galileo, whose name would be endeared to him on many accounts, and when he wrote this

poem by having been joint sharers in the calamity of blindness; or used the expression more generally for any disciple or follower of Galileo who resorted to Fesolé for the purpose of observation. A device of the "Tuscan Artist," with his telescope in hand, and surrounded by various astronomical instruments, continued till the present century to be one of the ornaments of the Florentine Almanac, and the costume seems to carry us back to the age of Galileo.

Milton in his Fifth Book, l. 262, introduces Galileo by name in connection with his glass:

> As when by night the glass
> Of Galileo, less assured, observes
> Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon.

Book I., l. 303.

> Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
> In VALLAMBROSA.

The question is about the orthography of this word which Mr. Todd has printed as here exhibited, recalling what was Milton's own orthography. Yet both etymology and authority seem to be against it.

The monastery is said to have been founded in A. D. 1070. "A. D. 1070, Secta Monachorum Vallis Umbrosæ incipit." —Epitome Historiarum by Perminius, 12mo. 1538.

Book I., l. 467.

> Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat
> Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
> Of Abbana and Pharpar, lucid streams.

Mr. Todd shews after Mr. Dunster that Tasso had applied the epithet "bel" to Damascus; but he might have added

that the world had agreed to regard Damascus as Queen of Cities for beauty. See how Ariosto enlarges upon it in the 17th book of the Orlando.

Book I., l. 508.

The Ionian Gods—

Milton could not well omit all mention of these: but we may observe his art in passing them slightly over as characters not in harmony with the Syrian and Egyptian Deities, and not intended by him to take any prominent part in the conduct of the poem.

Book I., l. 594.

As when the sun . . . .
. . . from behind the moon
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs—

A good illustration of this, as respects English opinions, is afforded by "Samuel Gibbon Phileremus," who in his Gardeners' Almanac, 1682, cautions people not to "graft, set, sow, or plant anything that day whereon there happeneth an eclipse either of sun or moon." Historical authority might, no doubt, easily be found for the minds of tyrants being perplexed by an unlooked for withdrawal of the sun's beams.

Book II., l. 9.

And by SUCCESS untaught.

"Success" is here used in what may be regarded its primitive sense, that which succeeds, follows upon, without regard to

whether it be auspicious or the contrary. Milton uses it again in the same way in l. 123 of this book:

> And seem to east
> Ominous conjecture on the whole success,

and Shakespeare once uses it in the same manner,

> And doubt not but success
> Will fashion the event in better shape
> Than I can lay it down in likelihood.
> *Much Ado, Act* iv. *sc.* 1.

Book II., l. 438.

> There passed, if any pass, the void profound
> Of UNESSENTIAL night receives him next.

There is a much finer meaning in the word "unessential" than Hume, the only commentator who remarks on this passage, perceived—"Unessential, void of being; darkness approaching nearest to, and being the best resemblance of non-entity." But "unessential" means here, wanting all those things which are of the very essence of being, as appears by comparing a passage further on in the same book, where the word is in effect expanded by the poet himself,—

> Before their eyes in sudden view appear
> The secrets of the hoary deep; a dark
> Illimitable ocean, without bound,
> Without dimension; where length, breadth, and height,
> And time and place are lost; where eldest Night
> And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
> Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
> Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.

Book II., l. 495.

> The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
> Attest their joy, that hill and valley RINGS.

There are critics who would say that here Priscian is a little scratched; but in truth our great Masters lived in a region above such persons, and looked to the philosophical not the merely grammatical nominative. "Hill" and "valley," coalesce and form but one something, whence the verb is *rings* not *ring*. So in Horace "Quod vult manus et mens."

Book III., l. 1.

Hail holy Light, offspring of Heaven first born—

The Commentators should out of regard to the older poet have continued the quotation from Sylvester, two lines farther—

God's eldest daughter; Oh how thou art full
Of grace and goodness! Oh! how beautiful.

Book III., l. 45.

But cloud instead, and ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men
Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
Presented with a universal blank
Of Nature's works to me expunged and rased
And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.

Amidst the general excellence of the annotation in the latest edition of the works of Milton, whether that by Mr Todd himself, or that which with so much taste and judgment he has selected from former commentators, the notes on these lines appear to little advantage. They perplex instead of enlightening, they make difficulties where the author has made none; they set up the rules of puny grammaticasters against the authority of one of the greatest and most exact of our writers. If any thing is wanting to the complete

evolution of the idea in the mind of the author, it is a comma after "Nature's works."

Book III., l. 349.

> Lowly reverent
> Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground
> With solemn adoration down they cast
> Their crowns inwove with AMARANT and gold;
> Immortal AMARANT, a flower which once
> In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,
> Began to bloom; but soon for man's offence
> To Heaven removed, where first it grew, there grows,
> And flowers aloft, shading the fount of life,
> And where the river of bliss through midst of heaven,
> Rolls o'er Elysian flowers her amber stream.
> With these that never fade the Spirits elect
> Bind their resplendent locks.

It is to be regretted that the commentators should have bestowed so little attention on a passage of such transcendent beauty, and that some part of what little they do say should be so wide of the mark, for it is nothing to trace out in books of modern gardening plants called the Amaranth or the Everlasting. It is a high poetical conception, having no relation in any respect to any plant in an earthly garden, a plant which grew in heaven, and was for a while permitted to grow in Paradise, till "man's offence" occasioned its removal back to the fair fields which it had originally adorned. It is made also a symbol of immortality, and hence its name, allusive, as hath been remarked, and is indeed obvious enough, to the amaranthine inheritance and the amaranthine crown of glory which the Apostle Peter holds out before his true Christian followers.

So much is sufficiently evident: but for the perfect illus-

tration of such a passage as this, the question ought to be asked and answered:—Was this a purely original conception of the mind of Milton: Had any one before him imagined a plant of heavenly growth, bestowed on it the name of Amaranth, and represented it as having been transplanted to the earthly Paradise, and there to have remained as long as Paradise was the scene of innocence. I propose it as a theme for others, not as a question which I can pretend to set at rest. But it appears to me that Milton was in part indebted for the conception to two passages in the third Book of the Fairy Queen, a poem in which he may be for ever traced.

> Eternal God in His Almighty power,
> To make example of His heavenly grace,
> In Paradise whylom did place this flower,
> Whence he it fetched out of her native place,
> And did in stock of earthly flesh enrace.
>
> *Book* III. *Canto* v. *St.* 52.

He does not, indeed, here find the word Amaranth: but in the 45th stanza of the succeeding Canto he would find a flower so denominated and connected with immortality:—

> Sad Amaranthus, made a flower but late,
> Sad Amaranthus, in whose purple gore
> Meseems I see Amyntas' wretched fate
> To whom sweet poet's verse hath given endless date.

Book III., l. 405.

> Into a limbo large and broad, since called
> The Paradise of Fools.

Milton, no doubt, whose reading was very extensive, became acquainted with this conceit of the Schoolmen by the perusal of their writings: but we seem to owe its intro-

duction in this poem to his acquaintance with Ariosto, in the thirty-fourth book of whose Orlando we have much the same account of this limbo. It is from this book that the two passages are translated, which in some editions of Milton's Works are united so as to form one continuous piece of verse. Moreover, though printed as being Milton's, the first four lines are literally Harington's translation, and the other four are Harington's with exceedingly slight variations.

Book IV., l. 161.

> As when to them who sail
> Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
> Mozambick, oft at sea north-east winds blow
> Sabean odours from the spicy shore
> Of Araby the blest; with such delay
> Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
> Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.

The origin of this passage is probably to be found in the Travels of Sir Thomas Herbert, who visited the Eastern part of the world in the year 1626. In the account of his voyage from Goa to Gambroon, he says:—"Having coasted India and Arabia, where the sweetest spices and gums do grow, we found that the spirits issuing from their flowers so perfume the air when gently blowing towards passengers, as they have discovered whereabouts they were when no land was in sight."—p. 102. Milton was a great reader of books of travels.

"Araby" has the sanction of Harington:—

> The states of Media, Persia and Armenia,
> With Arabia will keep you with the menie.
> *Orl.* xl. 27.

Book IV., l. 449.

That day I oft remember, when from sleep
I first awaked, and found myself reposed
Under a shade ON flowers.

This is one of the few instances in which the first and second editions of this poem differ from each other. This is the reading of the first edition, and is adopted by Mr. Todd. The second edition has

Under a shade of flowers.

Mr. Todd's judgment is entitled to the greatest respect; but considering with what minute attention the second edition was conducted through the press in the author's life-time, and how much the flow of the line is improved, I give the preference to it. The sense is nearly the same; a beautiful sense whichever reading we adopt.

Book IV., l. 640.

All seasons and their change, all please alike.

This most delicious portion of the most pleasing book in the whole poem deserves the minutest illustration it can receive. I therefore remark, that there is in this line a resemblance, deserving notice, to a line in Hudson's Translation of Du Bartas' Judith,

Who made days, years, all seasons and their primes.

Book V., l. 146.

For neither various style
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
Their Maker in fit strains pronounced, or sung
Unmeditated.

Milton is here declaring his preference for the outpour-

ings of the heart in devotion to the use of previously composed forms: and when he speaks of "various style," he alludes to a favourite expression amongst persons accustomed to be present at these out-pourings, when they would commend the speaker, that "he had great variety in prayer."

Book V., l. 163.

Ye in Heaven.

I wish to enter a gentle but decided protest against the period which Mr. Todd has placed at "Heaven," contrary to the authority of the earlier copies, which have only a comma, and injurious, as seems to me, both to the versification and to the sense. The creatures on earth are invited to join with those in heaven in this great song of praise.

Book V., l. 396.

No fear lest dinner cool.

Nothing in the whole poem so much offends as these few words. They seem to be abandoned by the critics to their fate, not a word being said to defend or excuse them. The cause of offence is a familiarity not only unsuitable to the dignity of the epic, but closely neighbouring on vulgarity.

Book V., l. 574.

Though what if Earth
Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought.

I believe that the Astrologers, with whom Milton sometimes condescended to associate, held this notion, and that it is to this that Milton alludes, though he had doubtless

also in his mind the words of St. Paul, "The invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even the Creator's Eternal Power and Godhead." Slichting, in his comment on John xx. 31, speaking of the "life" mentioned in the text, observes, "cujus respectu mortalis vita umbra verius est vitæ, quam vita."

Book VII., l. 106.

And Sleep, listening to thee, will WATCH.

"Watch" is "wake," to spend the night attentively without sleep. They are verba ardentia, and need no vindication.

Book VII., l. 425.

Part loosely wing the region, part more wise
In common, ranged in figure wedge their way.

The wild geese fly arranged in resemblance of the figure 7, the angular point in advance: hence "*wedge* their way."

Book VII., l. 463.

The grassy clods now CALVED.

The word is still used in some parts of England for the earth opening in fissures, as it sometimes does after long drought, which gives a better meaning than the common word calve.

Book VIII., l. 38.

So spake our Sire, and by his countenance seem'd
Entering on studious thoughts abstruse; which Eve
Perceiving, where she sat retired in sight,
With lowliness majestic from her seat,
And grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her fruit and flowers.

The remarks of Bishop Newton on Eve's withdrawing when the conversation between the Angel and Adam was turning to subjects more abstruse, are just and beautiful: but he has omitted to notice that the action is in accordance with intimations in the Fourth Book, such as

> My Author and Disposer, what thou bidst
> Unargued I obey: so God ordains:
> God is thy law, thou mine: to know no more
> Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.—*l.* 638.

Here the principle is laid down: in the Eighth Book we have the corresponding action.

Book IX., l. 11.

> That brought into this world, a world of woe.

Critics of great name have suggested the placing the "world of woe" in a parenthesis; but though the line is not the happiest in the whole poem, it is probably what Milton wrote, in whose ear may have been sounding this line of Harington's—

> And brought upon them all a world of woe.
> *Orl.* xi. 2.

and compare P. L. xi. 627.

Book IX., l. 218.

> In yonder spring of roses intermix'd
> With myrtle.

"Spring" is in use in many parts of England for small groves, or plantations of young trees.

Book IX., l. 832.

> So dear I love him, that with him all death
> I could endure, without him live no life.

Bishop Newton remarks, "How much stronger and more pathetic is this than that of Horace, Od. III. ix. 24, 'Tecum vivere amem tecum obcam libens,'" in which he is clearly in the right: but he might have found in our own poetry a much more pertinent passage with which to have compared it. I mean of course Shakespeare's:

> But there where I have garnered up my heart,
> Where either I must live, or bear no life.—
>
> *Othello*, Act iv. Sc. 2.

Book IX., l. 1140.

> Let none henceforth seek needless cause to approve
> The faith they owe; when earnestly they seek
> Such proof, conclude they then begin to fail.

Yet the Apostle says "Prove all things." In fact we have here antagonistic principles, and duties arising out of them, which probably never will be reconciled.

Milton shews on another occasion in this Poem his sense of the wisdom of laying some restraint ou the desire for knowledge, which even if insatiable is surely excusable, even if it is unwise and hazardous.

> But knowledge is as food, and needs no less
> Her temperance over appetite.—*Book VII. l.* 26.

It may be doubted whether twenty years before he would have thus discouraged the search after truth, for that is the real tendency of both these passages. I do not, however, mean to say that it may not be the part of the "Highest Wisdom" to bear these cautions in mind, when the mind is engaged on subjects where demonstration is unattainable.

Book X., l. 279.

> So scented the grim FEATURE.

There is no note on this certainly very singular and highly poetical use of the word; but the reader will find a long dissertation on it in Mr. Holt White's edition of the Areopagitica. Hacket uses it in as strange a manner: "But this young feature, like an imperfect embryo, was mortified in the womb by Star Chamber vexation."—Life of Williams, ii. 40. It is here equivalent to project.

Book X., l. 656.

> To the blanc moon
> Her office they prescribed: to the other five
> Their planetary motions, and aspécts,
> In sextile, square, and trine, and opposite,
> Of noxious efficacy, and when to join
> In synod unbenign, and taught the fix'd
> Their influence malignant when to shower, &c.

On this Mr. Thyer remarks—"If an unnecessary ostentation of learning be, as Addison observes, one of Milton's faults, it certainly must be an aggravation of it, when he not only introduces, but countenances, such enthusiastic unphilosophical notions as this jargon of the Astrologers is made up of."

But there is reason to think that Milton was not averse from these studies, if so they deserve to be called; for there exists in one of the miscellaneous volumes of the Ashmolean Library, Milton's own horoscope in the hand as is supposed of Gadbury, a principal practitioner in the art. It was not prepared for him when he was a child, but at a time of life later than the publication of his Iconoclastes; so probably at his own request. See Mr. Black's Catalogue of the Ashmolean Manuscripts, No. 436, Art. 57.

Book XI., l. 1.

Thus they in lowliest plight, repentant STOOD
Praying—

The commentators do not accept Dr. Bentley's proposal to substitute "kneeled" for "stood," but they are agreed that there is no peculiar meaning in the use of "stood," and that in fact it is the same as if the poet had said they were praying. I do not agree with them. That Milton intended to indicate that particular posture is to me evident from what he afterwards says,

Yet their port
Not of mean suitors.

That is neither kneeling nor prostrate. In fact, he has here, as in so many other passages of the poem, his eye on one of the points in controversy at that time, the proper position in prayer, which many dissidents from the practice of the Church, contended to be standing, founding themselves upon the example of divers holy men in Scripture history. In the same spirit we find him at l. 836 of this book, taking up the controversy about the holiness of places, and deciding it in favour of the same persons who contended for the standing posture in prayer.

Book XI., l. 387.

From the destined walls
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can, &c.

Here follows a long enumeration of places which the critics have set down to the account of the poet's supposed ostentation of learning. But surely without reason. One book, Hey-

lyn's Cosmography, would supply him with nearly all the learning requisite for forming such a catalogue. Beside the nature of this portion of his poem required the interposition of such a passage as this for the reader's refreshment in the beautiful images it successively calls up. It is an evidence of the Poet's art not his ostentation. It may, however, be admitted, as Mr. Hallam justly remarks, that "the ear of Milton pursued almost to excess the pleasure of *harmonious names*."—Literature of Europe, i. 315.

This passage may be compared with a similar one in Paradise Regained, Book III., l. 316, to see how finely the same theme is varied.

Book XI., l. 409.

> And yet unspoiled
> Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons,
> Call Eldorado.

It is quite clear that Milton had in his mind Sir Walter Raleigh's tract on the discovery of Guiana, 4to. 1596, having used almost the very words of his title. For "Spaniards" he substitutes "Geryon's sons," to which he might be invited by Spenser. See Fairy Queen, V. x. 9.

Book XII., l. 628.

> The Cherubim descended; on the ground
> Gliding meteorous, as evening mist
> Risen from a river o'er the marish glides,
> And gathers ground fast at the labourer's heel
> Homeward returning.

Mists of the kind here spoken of by the poet are sometimes actually impressed with the forms of horsemen and footmen by the popular mind, large armies like what we may imagine the cherubim to have been.

THE END.

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